

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1467

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ACDA FOR NEWHOUSE AND FISHER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, US, GW
SUBJECT: FRG INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AGENCY

REF: BONN 08422

1. SPD INTEREST IN THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING AN
FRG ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY SURFACED AGAIN
RECENTLY, IN AN ARTICLE WRITTEN FOR THE SPD PARTY ORGAN
VORWAERTS BY SPD DEFENSE EXPERT ALFONS PAWELCZYK.

2. FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE PAWELCZYK
PIECE SUB-HEADED UNDER THE TITLE "SECURITY POLICY NEEDS
NEW INSTRUMENTS."

3. BEGIN QUOTE: (THE CDU/CSU AGAIN SUSPECTS THAT WEST
GERMAN SECURITY INTERESTS ARE BEING BETRAYED TO MOSCOW
SINCE SPD DISARMAMENT EXPERT ALFONS PAWELCZYK, RENEWED
AND PROVIDED NEW DEFINITIONS TO THE PROPOSAL OF SETTING
UP A DISARMAMENT OFFICE.)

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4. WE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DEMANDED AT OUR PARTY CONVENTION
IN HAMBURG THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPT ON ARMS CON-
TROL AND THE EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION WHETHER IT IS
POSSIBLE IN THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PERIOD TO
IMPROVE THE INSTITUTIONAL PREREQUISITES OF ARMS CONTROL
POLICY BY SETTING UP A DISARMAMENT OFFICE.

5. THESE DEMANDS ARE BASED UPON THE REALIZATION THAT THE IMPORTANCE, IN TERMS OF SECURITY POLICY, OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT POLICY IS INCREASING AND THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS THE IMPORTANT FUNCTION OF MAKING SUGGESTIONS IN THIS FIELD BECAUSE:

- (1) THE CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS AND ARMS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FRG AND GDR IS THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD,
- (2) THE SOVIET UNION AND USA DIRECTLY FACE EACH OTHER AT THE LINE OF DEMARCACTION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND
- (3) THE FRG IS MOST DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE RESULTS OF ARMS CONTROL POLICY.

6. THE SOCIAL-LIBERAL COALITION HAS RENDERED SINCE 1969 A DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THIS MADE IT POSSIBLE, FOR INSTANCE, TO HAVE CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS ON FORCES AND ARMS REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE BETWEEN NATO AND WARSAW PACT. THE POLICY OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT, AND THIS IS WHY THE CONCEPTIONAL REQUIREMENTS HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED AND THE INSTITUTIONAL PREREQUISITES ADJUSTED TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

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7. THE SUGGESTIONS FRITZ ERLER MADE IN 1963 LED IN 1965 TO SETTING UP IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE THE SUBDIVISION 22 ON QUESTIONS OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL.

8. SCIENTIFIC STUDIES REVEALED THAT QUESTIONS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ARE CURRENTLY BEING DEALT WITH BY ABOUT 130 SECTIONS AND COMPARABLE UNITS IN NINE MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES. THE OFFICE TITLES OF SIX SECTIONS IN FOUR MINISTRIES REVEAL THEIR COMPETENCY TO DEAL WITH DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS.

9. SIX MODELS AND RESERVATIONS AGAINST THEM:
IN THE SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS MATTER, CENTRALIZED ORGANIZATION WITH CONCEPTUAL-PLANNING AND POLITICAL-OPERATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE BEING DISCUSSED, MOST NOTABLY BY HELGA HAFTENDORN, VOLKER RITTBERGER AND LOTHAR WILKER:

- (1) FEDERAL CHANCELLERY MODEL
WHAT IS BEING CONSIDERED IN THIS RESPECT IS,

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FOR INSTANCE, AN EXTENSION OF GROUP 23 OF THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY (DEFENSE PROBLEMS, DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL) IN TERMS OF PERSONNEL AND COMPETENCIES. THE CONCEPTUAL-PLANNING FUNCTION COULD BE ASSUMED BY THE FEDERAL CHANCELLERY. HOWEVER, THE EXECUTION OF THE POLITICAL-OPERATIVE FUNCTION MEETS WITH DIFFICULTIES, SINCE THE FEDERAL MINISTERS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 65 OF THE BASIC LAW, CONDUCT THE AFFAIRS OF THEIR MINISTRIES "AUTONOMOUSLY AND ON THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY" WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE GUIDELINES DETERMINED BY THE CHANCELLOR, AND SINCE THE FOREIGN OFFICE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAR. 11 OF THE RULES OF BUSINESS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IS COMPETENT FOR INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS.

(2) FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL MODEL

AS FAR AS THIS MODEL IS CONCERNED, SIMILAR RESERVATIONS ARE BEING VOICED.

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(3) DISARMAMENT OFFICE

IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SET UP A FEDERAL AGENCY OF THIS NATURE. HOWEVER, IT WOULD MERELY BE AN IMPLEMENTING ADMINISTRATIVE ORGAN, THOUGH THIS VIEW IS NOT UNDISPUTED.

(4) DISARMAMENT MINISTRY

IT COULD APPROPRIATELY ASSUME BOTH THE CONCEPTUAL-PLANNING AND THE POLITICAL-OPERATIVE COMPETENCY, PROVIDED ESSENTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECTIONS ARE TRANSFERRED FROM OTHER MINISTRIES. HOWEVER, THIS WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH, FOR INSTANCE, THE FOREIGN OFFICE' COMPETENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE TRANSFERRED TO THE DISARMAMENT MINISTRY AS FAR AS THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD IS CONCERNED.

(5) TRANSFORMING THE SUBDIVISION 22 OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE INTO A DIVISION

THERE ARE NO FORMAL RESERVATIONS AGAINST SUCH TRANSFORMATION. HOWEVER, A MERE UPGRADING OF SUBDIVISION 22 PROBABLY WOULD NOT PRODUCE THE DESIRED POLITICAL EFFECT, ESPECIALLY A DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTUAL-PLANNING COMPETENCY.

(6) APPOINTMENT OF A MINISTER OF STATE FOR DISARMAMENT AND COOPERATIVE ARMS CONTROL IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE

THIS MODEL CAN BE REALIZED WITHOUT FORMAL RESERVATIONS. PROVIDED THIS MINISTER OF STATE IS FURNISHED A CORRESPONDING BASIS, WHICH, INTER ALIA, COULD ALSO COMPRIZE A DISARMAMENT OFFICE, AND PROVIDED THIS MINISTER HAS THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RIGHT TO ATTEND THE MEETINGS OF THE CABINET AND FEDERAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO ADDRESS THE PLENUM OF THE BUNDESTAG, THIS MODEL, GIVEN THE EXISTING LEGAL SITUATION, WOULD BEST MEET THE POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS.

IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE DISCUSSION ON AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF ARMS CONTROL

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POLICY PROVOKES SUCH POLEMIC REACTIONS AS CAN BE NOTED IN THE MORE RECENT PAST. THIS POLICY FIELD CALLS FOR AN INCREASINGLY INTENSIVE CONSIDERATION WHICH ALSO PRODUCES ORGANIZATIONAL CONSEQUENCES. SUCH CONSEQUENCES WERE RIGHTFULLY DRAWN WHEN CORRESPONDING DEVELOPMENTS TOOK PLACE IN OTHER FIELDS. THE DEMAND RAISED BY THE SPD IS A CONTRIBUTION TO SECURITY POLICY. THE POLICY OF EXTERNAL SECURITY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FULFILL ITS FUNCTION UNLESS EQUAL ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO THE PROBLEMS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT POLICY.

10. COMMENT: THE CALLS FOR THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN FRG DISARMAMENT AGENCY HAS OBVIOUS POLITICAL OVERTONES. THE MOST EVIDENT MOTIVE IS AN ATTEMPT TO DIMINISH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S STRONG INFLUENCE ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES.

11. PAWELCZYK IS QUITE RIGHT IN ASSUMING THAT TRANSFORMING FOREIGN OFFICE SUBDIVISION 22, AMBASSADOR FRED

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RUTH'S DOMAIN, INTO A SEPARATE DISARMAMENT OFFICE WOULD NOT PRODUCE WHAT HE TERMS "THE DESIRED

POLITICAL EFFECT" BECAUSE SUCH AN OFFICE WOULD PRESUMABLY STILL BE UNDER THE POLICY LEADERSHIP OF FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER.

12. THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER PAWELCZYK'S REMARKS INDICATE THE BEGINNINGS OF AN SPD CAMPAIGN TO TAKE A MORE DIRECT COMMAND OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AT A TIME WHEN THE FDP IS UNDER PRESSURE. WE HOPE TO SEE PAWELCZYK SOON AND WILL TRY TO PROVIDE AN EVALUATION ON THE BASIS OF THAT CONVERSATION.

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